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A

REVIEW

OF THE

PARLIAMENTARY CONDUCT

OF THE

RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX

AND

The RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE;

AND

A Parallel drawn between their different Modes of Elocution;

POINTING OUT

THE IMPERFECTIONS,

AS WELL AS

THE BEAUTIES OF EACH.

In which is Interſperſed,

A variety of Remarks and Anecdotes relative to ſeveral Perſons, who have taken active Parts in the Adminiſtrations of LORD NORTH and Mr. PITT.

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The Reader is requeſted to take Notice, that this Pamphlet was written, while the late REGENCY BILL *was in diſcuſſion in both Houſes of Parliament; and would not now have been publiſhed, had it not been for the flattering ſolicitations of ſeveral of the Author's friends.*

A REVIEW OF THE PARLIAMENTARY CONDUCT OF THE Right Hon. CHARLES JAMES FOX, AND THE Right Hon. EDMUND BURKE.

AS theſe two Gentlemen have, for a conſiderable time, made a point of delivering their opinions upon every queſtion of moment that has been agitated in parliament, their ſpeeches have been the univerſal ſubject of converſation; not only in the metropolis, but in every part of the kingdom, peruſed with avidity and pleaſure, even through the imperfect medium

of public prints. If thoſe rude, abridged, ſlight ſketches, in their mutilated ſtate, have afforded ſo much delight, how much more ſatisfaction muſt they receive, who had the happineſs of hearing them delivered entire, accompanied with ſuitable action, cadence, inflection of voice, expreſſion, and emphaſis?

That perſons remote from the metropolis, who have not an opportunity of attending parliamentary debates, may form ſome idea of the talents of theſe two gentlemen who have ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their abilities, I ſhall endeavour, in the moſt conciſe manner poſſible, to point out wherein the forte of each conſiſts, with their peculiar mode of elocution.

Mr.

Mr. Fox ſeems in his ſpeeches to have adopted the manner of the celebrated Athenian orator Demoſthenes. Confident in his ſtrength and abilities, he diſdains, as beneath him, to make uſe of the ſoft, gentle, inſinuating methods of perſuaſion, to tread in the flowery paths of rhetoric. He prefers that bold, manly, energetic ſpecies; like the Grecian phalanx, crouding as much force as poſſible in a ſmall compaſs, to force the aſſent of his audience by the irreſiſtible power of reaſon and ſtrong argument.

He never ſeems ſtudious of diſplaying the common artifices of oratory: appears only ſolicitous to be underſtood; yet, as it were without deſign, raiſes the utmoſt admiration and delight: ſuch delight as ariſes from the clearneſs of evidence, and the fulneſs of conviction.

When Mr. Fox's imagination becomes heated with the ſubject (for a certain degree of enthuſiaſm has univerſally been eſteemed neceſſary to ſhine in eloquence) he then becomes irreſiſtible, with aſtoniſhing rapidity bearing down all before him like a torrent.

It is remarkable, that he never loſes ſight of the point in queſtion; never introducing the leaſt extraneous matter foreign to the ſubject in debate.

Notwithſtanding his being perfectly verſed in claſſical authors, yet, to avoid every appearance of pedantry, never quoting them, but when neceſſary to enforce and elucidate his argument.

With reſpect to his acquaintance with ancient and modern hiſtory, as well as the hiſtory

hiſtory of our own country, his references, where occaſion required, have always been correctly applicable, pertinent, and judicious.

That he is well informed in whatever relates to the policy, laws, cuſtoms, and uſages of every foreign ſtate, we have an infinite variety of inſtances, in the courſe of his ſpeeches, to convince us.

That he has a thorough knowledge of the conſtitution of this kingdom, our oldeſt and moſt experienced ſtateſmen have frequently bore ample teſtimony.

And, with reſpect to his ſkill in the laws of this realm, he has often foiled thoſe of the profeſſion who have ſeats in the Houſe of Commons, even at their own weapons; Sir Pepper Arden, Sir John Scot,

Scot, and ſome others I could point out, have upon a variety of occaſions, experienced this to their no ſmall mortification, ſhame, and confuſion.

Mr. Fox's mode of elocution ſeems to be admirably adapted to gain the attention and approbation of an Engliſh auditory; not ſpecious, frivolous, and florid; but fraught with ſolid reaſoning, ſound argument, and profound knowledge.

Mr. Fox's ideas are ſo clear, that he never, upon any ſubject, becomes obſcure or confuſed. His fund of knowledge ſo copious, and his imagination ſo fertile, that he never is guilty of tautology; hence it is, that he never becomes inſipid and ennuyant. Though forcible and animated, yet always within the proper bounds of decorum: and, above all, his judgment informs

informs him, when he has ſpoke ſufficiently upon a ſubject; like a judicious painter, who knows when his deſign or compoſition is ſufficiently finiſhed.

I think Sir John Denham's beautiful deſcription of the river Thames, in his admired poem of Cooper's Hill, with little variation, may not be unapplicable to Mr. Fox's ſpecies of elocution, where he ſays,

> Tho' deep, yet full; tho' gentle, never dull;
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing, full.

As there is nothing ſo harmonious in his voice, nor ſo attractive in his action, it is evident, that it is the matter, and not the manner, that faſcinates his auditory to the charms of his oratory.

As the eye is the index of the mind, his diſcovers much ſenſibility and expreſſion; with a countenance equally ſignificant.

So vaſt and comprehenſive is his mind, and retentive his memory, that nothing eſcapes him. He penetrates as if by intuition, into the drift of his opponent's deſign, and ſcope of his argument; and in a manner the moſt pointed, turns it againſt him, by expoſing the fallacy of his reaſoning.

It has been generally remarked, that he is more powerful in reply, than in his firſt ſpeech: which is a convincing proof, that what he delivers is not ſtudied and prepared; but flows ſpontaneous from the occaſion. He has a ſoul too enlarged, ſentiments too liberal, to indulge in ſarcaſtic reflections, or perſonal invectives; ſo far otherwiſe,

otherwiſe, that he has publicly applauded what ſeemed worthy of commendation, even in his moſt inveterate enemy and opponent, Mr. Pitt.

And what is ſingularly remarkable in Mr. Fox, is, his being equally competent to ſpeak upon every queſtion that occurs; be the ſubject of what nature it may, he is never at a loſs, but diſplays his unrivalled abilities with equal ingenuity upon every occaſion; which proves him to be, what an orator ſhould be, a man of univerſal knowledge.

The reſpect and deference paid to his opinion and ſuperior knowledge by the whole Houſe of Commons, muſt be extremely flattering to him; for when delayed by accident or indiſpoſition, the buſineſs, however urgent and important, has

been poſtponed till he was able to attend.

Another ſtriking proof of the ſenſe the Houſe in general entertains of his ſuperior talents and wiſdom, is, the profound attention even the moſt inconſiderate and volatile of the young members, pay to his ſpeeches.

It muſt be confeſſed, that there is not one member of the Houſe of Commons, can in any degree ſtand in competition with him; for the aſſiduous, faithful diſcharge of his duty to the public in general, or his conſtituents in particular.

He has for a ſeries of years paſt, watched over, and been a check upon the late, and preſent adminiſtration, at the expence of his

his private fortune, and prejudice to his conſtitution.

Had Mr. Fox been void of principle, and deſtitute of honour; diſpoſed to ſacrifice his conſcience, and the intereſt of his country, to emolument, he, by his extraordinary ability, might have acquired a more conſiderable ſhare of public money, than any of the proſtitute venal tools, the H——ys, Atkinſons, D——ds, D—ſſes, and many others I could mention; who merely for their ſilent votes, at the command of the Miniſter, to ſanction his pernicious meaſures during the late ruinous war, raiſed immenſe fortunes.

With great propriety might thoſe worthy wights acknowledge,

NOS NUMERI SUMUS NATI CONSUMERE FRUGES.

That is, that they attended there only as dead weights, to ſecure for the Miniſter a majority; and in recompence, to receive for their iniquity their reward from the Treaſury.

Having introduced Mr. H——y's name, I cannot avoid mentioning Lord North's partiality in laviſhing the public money upon this gentleman in particular. He not only had the contract, in conjunction with his friend Mr. D——d, for cloathing the troops, amounting to twenty-five thouſand men, but another contract for remitting money to pay thoſe troops, at the extravagant rate of two and a half per cent. and this was done, by purchaſing light gold from the Bank: by which, they both realized princely fortunes at the expence of the public. Even the perſon employed by Mr. H——y to manage the cloathing buſineſs,

buſineſs, has acquired a capital fortune; has purchaſed an eſtate in Mr. H——y's neighbourhood in Herefordſhire, and is now building a magnificent manſion-houſe there.

The contract with Atkinſon, for ſupplying the troops with rum, was equally diſgraceful; ſo notoriouſly known, that I ſhall not enlarge upon it.

I appeal to every candid, diſpaſſionate man, who is not biaſſed by prejudice, or warped by intereſt, whether Lord North, during his adminiſtration, has not done more detriment to the Britiſh empire, than all the wicked blundering miniſters who have had the management of public affairs in this kingdom; from the remarkable æra of the arrival of the firſt William in this country,

country, to this time, which is between ſeven and eight hundred years.

Whoever ſeriouſly reflects upon the full extent of the calamities he has occaſioned, will, I am confident, not conſider what has been now advanced in the leaſt exaggerated.

The loſs of at leaſt a hundred thouſand lives; ſevering from us ſo conſiderable a part of the empire; cutting off a reſource of near thirty thouſand ſeamen to man our navy upon an exigency; which I eſteem no ſmall loſs, as our very exiſtence as a free people depends upon our naval ſuperiority; the entailing upon us an enormous addition to our national debt, the effects of which is daily felt by the lower rank of people, to a degree that is become inſupportable. I ſhall omit other inferior conſiderations

ſiderations I could mention. All this ſacrifice was made to obſtinacy, ignorance, and the aggrandizement of the Miniſter's family and friends.

The unfortunate diſpute with our colonies in America, commenced under the adminiſtration of Mr. George Grenville, but began to put on a ſerious aſpect under the adminiſtration of the Duke of Grafton, who wiſely and conſcientiouſly determined to reſign his office, however lucrative and honourable, rather than undertake to carry on ſo unnatural, ſo unjuſt, and impolitic a war, which he foreſaw would terminate in diſgrace and ruin.

Lord North being then in neceſſitous, deſperate circumſtances, his private affairs greatly deranged, was pitched upon

on as a proper inſtrument for this purpoſe.

He was appointed firſt Lord of the Treaſury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon the expreſs condition of proſecuting the war againſt the Coloniſts with the utmoſt vigour; which he promiſed to do with ſuch effect, as ſoon to bring them at his feet in unconditional ſubmiſſion; an expreſſion which has excited the ridicule of the whole kingdom ever ſince.

I ſhall not enter into a detail of the errors and miſconduct with which that war was conducted; but briefly ſay, that it was a continued ſeries of blunders and miſcarriages, from the commencement to the cloſe of it.

And

And though the Miniſter complained that the ill ſucceſs was owing to the perſons appointed to military command not performing their duty, yet he never attempted to call even the moſt faulty of thoſe gentlemen to account, which was thought very extraordinary.

The conſequence that would attend the meaſures carried on by the Miniſter, was foretold by many of the independent gentlemen in the minority, who had no intereſt in the continuance of the war, and particularly Mr. Fox; aſſuring him that the attempt would prove impracticable and ruinous; and that our hereditary enemies, the French, as well as the Spaniards, would avail themſelves of our inteſtine diviſions, by joining the Colonies to weaken the power

power of this country. The event juſtified his opinion, and repeated declarations.

The Miniſter, ſo far from paying regard to the ſalutary counſel, ſuggeſted to him of accommodating matters with the Coloniſts, that he treated Mr. Fox and his adherents as factious rebels, enemies to their country; in ſhort, with the utmoſt contempt, and even ridicule.

An honourable means of conciliation offered, when Mr. Penn preſented a petition, the moſt reaſonable and equitable that could be expreſſed, couched in terms the moſt ſubmiſſive, and in language moſt admirable. The Miniſter, in the cabinet, adviſed to pay no regard to the propoſal therein contained. In a word, this gentleman, moſt reſpectable, and of the firſt con-

conſequence in all America, was treated with inſult and even ſcurrility, for declaring the truth, which was juſtified by the event. Nor would the Miniſter ever *deign an anſwer* to what was preſented; which exaſperated the Coloniſts to ſuch a degree, that they, from that inſtant, laid aſide all farther thoughts of conciliation.

Thus was the advantageous, critical moment for ever loſt. Shakeſpeare obſerves, that

> There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which taken at the full, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their lives,
> Is bound in ſhallows and in miſeries!
>
> *Infatuation is the conſtant forerunner of a fall.*
> QUOS DEUS VULT PERDERE, PRIUS DEMENTAT.

And what rendered the Miniſter the more odious and deteſtable was, the inſtructions he gave to General Burgoyne, to employ

ſavages to butcher the Coloniſts; and General Vaughan to lay waſte their habitations, and burn their towns: expoſing by this cruel barbarity, innocent, helpleſs women and their offspring to extreme diſtreſs, deſtitute of ſubſiſtence, or habitation to ſhield them from the inclemency of the weather.

While theſe ſcenes of diſtreſs were repreſented in the Houſe of Commons, I well remember, that this callous Miniſter affected to entertain the houſe with his witticiſms, his gibes, and his jeers, void of all ſenſe of compaſſion or common humanity.

This, together with the cruelty, peculation, and oppreſſion, ſo long ſuffered to be exerciſed in India with impunity, have greatly lowered and degraded the character

of

of Engliſhmen in the eſteem of every civilized nation.

At length, Mr. Fox, to his honour and credit, repreſented in the moſt lively colours, the incapacity of the Miniſter to carry on the war, and the impracticability of ever reducing the Colonies to that ſubmiſſion the Miniſter ſo frequently boaſted of; that even his venal majority, who had ſo long fattened upon the ſpoils of the public he had beſtowed upon them, were aſhamed of ſupporting his meaſures any longer. Finding himſelf deſerted by his mercenary dependants, he capitulated, requeſting only two days ceſſation of hoſtilities, at the expiration of which he would reſign his office, without further heſitation or ſtruggle. This interval of indulgence was employed, in the iniquitous buſineſs of penſioning himſelf, his ſervile tool Robinſon,

ſon, and ſome others of his friends. Not ſatisfied with having procured for himſelf and family very conſiderable incomes; one of whom I could mention, poſſeſſes no leſs than about ten thouſand pounds annually: he could not be induced to quit his hold till gorged, in a manner, to the full, with the public ſpoils:

NON MISSURA CUTEM, NISI PLENA CRUORIS HIRUDO.

As ſome perſons remote from the ſcene of action, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, may not be acquainted with the character of the Robinſon I have juſt mentioned, it may be neceſſary to inform them, that this is the perſon known by the familiar appellation of Jack Robinſon; the buſy meddling Cumberland attorney, who promoted the expenſive ſuit, ſome time ago, between the Duke of Portland and the preſent Lord Lonſdale, late Sir James

James Lowther, during the adminiſtration of Lord Bute, whoſe daughter he married.

The intention was to diſpoſſeſs the Duke of Portland, by introducing the *nullum tempus* act, of a grant of the foreſt of Inglewood, made by King William to Mr. Bentink, the Duke's anceſtor, a gentleman who ſtood very high in the king's eſteem. The attempt proved abortive; the Duke's poſſeſſion being confirmed and eſtabliſhed to the ſatisfaction of the whole kingdom, and the ſhame and confuſion of his opponents.

This ſame Jack Robinſon was the perſon employed by Lord North, to influence the venal needy members to ſupport his meaſures for the continuance of the American war: it was his particular province to collect the penſioned members from the coffee-

coffee-houſes, &c. and to bring them into the houſe to ſecure a majority when matters were ripe for a diviſion. In this office, he acquitted himſelf ſo much to the ſatisfaction of his patron, that he could not quit the helm till he had procured for him an ample proviſion from the public money. The buſineſs Robinſon was engaged in, under Lord North, induced ſome facetious wags to give him the appellation of the *whipper-in* of the houſe.

This is the perſon who proved ſo ungrateful to his old benefactor, when out of office, and in no farther condition to ſerve him.

Lord North being ſenſible that coercing the Colonies was a favourite object with a *certain great perſonage*, was willing to go every poſſible length to gratify his wiſhes; as

as the moſt effectual means of inſuring a continuance in office.

I remember the Miniſter, when in the zenith of his power, and at the height of a moſt expenſive war, introducing a meſſage from his M——y to the Commons, requeſting that they would grant him the ſum of ſix hundred and thirty thouſand pounds, to diſcharge a deficiency in his civil revenue!

Mr. Fox, and the reſt of the gentlemen in the minority, declared, that they were very ready to ſupport the dignity of the Crown, if requiſite; but requeſted the Miniſter to lay before them ſome documents, upon the table, to inform them to what cauſe the debts alledged to be contracted were owing. The Miniſter's anſwer was, that he would not ſtate any particulars

whatever; that he would put the buſineſs to the vote: truſting in a majority of his venal adherents, who were ready to grant any ſum of their conſtituents' property, however extravagant, to ſecure their own pay from the Miniſter.

A ſhort time after, the Miniſter brings another meſſage from the S————n, requeſting the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds, to pay off the arrear in his civil liſt. This aſtoniſhed the independent gentlemen to a great degree. The Miniſter ſtill refuſed the leaſt information, by what means *this ſum was incurred.*

This was extorted by the Miniſter, by the ſame mode as the former.

Not long after, the Miniſter brought another meſſage from his M——y to his

FAITHFUL

FAITHFUL Commons, requeſting one hundred thouſand pounds a YEAR addition to his Civil Liſt: this was acquired by the ſame majority.

And what was very extraordinary, conſidering the large ſums granted at ſuch ſhort intervals, that the late Lord Grantley, then Sir Fletcher Norton, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, was diſmiſſed from that high and honourable office for no other offence, than making uſe of a very proper expreſſion, when deputed to wait upon his M——y in the name of the Commons.

The expreſſion was no other than this: "That he hoped his M——y would uſe with economy what the Commons had granted ſo liberally."

The member who promoted and moved for the diſmiſſion of Sir Fletcher Norton, from the office of Speaker, was the late Lord Sackville, then Lord George Germain; a perſon his late Majeſty eſteemed unworthy to ſerve him in any capacity whatever, either civil or military: but who, by a kind of fatality, as a ſure omen of ill-ſucceſs, was appointed miniſter for the American department, when that ruinous war was carried on and finiſhed.

What could be more reaſonable, than to recommend that a proper uſe be made of what was the property of every individual ſubject through the nation, granted by their repreſentatives; particularly when ſuch enormous ſums were required at *intervals ſo ſhort*, and an *addition ſo conſiderable as a hundred thouſand pounds a year*; and this, during a moſt burthenſome, expenſive

penſive war, which diſtreſſed the lower order of people to an extreme degree?

There has been another ſum required to pay off His M——y's debts in the preſent adminiſtration, by Mr. Pitt.

That the increaſe of His M——y's family required ſo conſiderable an addition to his Civil Liſt, together with the large ſums granted at different periods by the Commons; is the moſt futile, puerile, frivolous reaſon imaginable; even an inſult to common ſenſe.

When it was notorious to all the world, that ſo far from keeping up the dignity of the Crown, and living in a ſplendor in any degree equal to his vaſt revenue, which is ſuperior to that of any potentate in Europe, every thing in His M——y's houſehold, has

has always been conducted upon a narrow ſcale, with the utmoſt parſimony; little ſuperior to ſome of our firſt nobility, the moſt opulent of whom, does not poſſeſs an yearly income equal to the thirtieth part of his M——y's annual revenue.

Beſide, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York, have for ſome years paſt enjoyed revenues independent of his M——y. And with reſpect to the younger part of the family, the expence attending them hitherto has been very inconſiderable indeed.

Lord North, at the time he was ſoliciting the Commons for the large ſums above ſtated, muſt be conſcious, whether they were applied for the purpoſe alledged:—whether any part was to inſure his venal majorities, to ſanction his meaſures for carrying

rying on the deſtructive American war, is beſt known to himſelf.

If what is with confidence reported of His M——y's immenſe private property, veſted in different funds; large purchaſes made in Germany; and pecuniary aſſiſtance to Her M——'s relations in Germany; we cannot be at a loſs to account for this extraordinary myſtery.

Queen Anne, during the Quixote war this country was engaged in, relative to the choice of a king of Spain, under the old notion of keeping up the balance of power in Europe, finding the expence ſo great upon her ſubjects, in order to eaſe them in ſome meaſure, appropriated part of her civil revenue annually toward carrying on that war.

His

His M——y, with an annual income much more conſiderable, ſo far from *contributing* towards the expence of the war, has received a conſiderable *addition* to his Civil Liſt. So far from ſuſtaining any loſs or diminution of his property by that war, by the addreſs of Lord North, he has been a conſiderable gainer. And by the inſidious conduct of the preſent Miniſter of the CROWN, as he inſolently ſtyled himſelf, the chief burthen has been laid upon the lower claſs of people, to the very great diſtreſs of themſelves and families.

It has been always obſerved, that whatever romantic, extravagant, abſurd meaſures are adopted by the higher powers in ſtates and kingdoms, through weakneſs or OBSTINACY, the lower order of people are ſure to become the chief ſufferers.

QUIDQUID DELIRANT REGES, PLECTUNTUR ACHIVI.

I cannot

I cannot avoid remarking, that the preſent ſelf-ſufficient Miniſter, Mr. Pitt, inſiſting upon the propriety of ſtyling himſelf the Miniſter of the CROWN ONLY, carries with it no leſs abſurdity, than arrogance. It is true, it is the prerogative of the Sovereign to appoint his Miniſters; and the preſent, was placed in that high and important office, contrary to the ſenſe of the people, that is, the majority of the Houſe of Commons, the repreſentatives of the people.

But is it not the buſineſs of the people that a Miniſter is appointed to tranſact? Is it not by the people that he is paid? Is it not the people that ſuffer by the maladminiſtration of a bad miniſter? And is not the Miniſter accountable to the people for his conduct?

His M——y upon every other occaſion, declared, that he could judge of the ſenſe of his people, only through the medium of the Houſe of Commons; but when a conſiderable majority of the Houſe of Commons waited upon His M——y repeatedly, requeſting the removal of the preſent Miniſter, Mr. Pitt, as a perſon they had no confidence in. His M——y THEN was pleaſed to declare, that he muſt judge of the ſenſe of the people by the addreſſes preſented to him, and not by the majority of the Houſe of Commons. It was well known that thoſe very addreſſes were, with great induſtry procured by the Miniſter and his friends, to miſlead the S———n, to ſecure his continuance in office, which he was determined not to reſign till the laſt extremity; ſo tenacious was he of a power ſo diſhonourably obtained.

Mr. Fox having, by his perſeverance, at length obliged Lord North to quit the helm, he had ſo unſkilfully managed for ſeveral years, to the irreparable prejudice of the nation.

The Duke of Portland ſucceeded as premier, firſt Lord of the Treaſury; Lord John Cavendiſh, of equal integrity and honor, was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Fox, one of the Secretaries of State; Mr. Burke, Paymaſter, and other able men of the ſame revolutional principles, filled the other different departments of government.

Mr. Fox, it muſt be ingenuouſly confeſſed, took a ſtep which leſſened his popularity with the inferior people to a great degree. This was, in engaging in a coalition with the late Miniſter, whoſe

conduct he had ſo lately reprobated and expoſed, and whom he had rendered obnoxious to the kingdom in general.

This was ſuch a piece of policy, as ſtaggered many of Mr. Fox's moſt zealous advocates and adherents; ſuch a conduct as was beyond their comprehenſion to fathom. But there are refinements in politics, which men of ſuperior talents, experience, and abilities, may ſee neceſſary to adopt, which to perſons of ordinary, common capacities, may ſeem abſurd, inconſiſtent, and unaccountable. And this may probably be one of them.

Mr. Fox might conſider, that Lord North had a number of friends in the Houſe of Commons, who ſtill remained attached to him, in conſideration of the favours they had received during his adminiſtration,

miniſtration, who, with his own party, would form ſo broad a baſis, as would enable him to carry into effect ſuch reform, both in India and at home, as would reflect honour and credit upon the adminiſtration he was engaged in ; and conſequently promote the proſperity of his country, by retrieving the loſſes we had ſo lately ſuſtained.

For this purpoſe, he with much application and ſtudy formed a bill, as would have been productive probably of the greateſt advantage, had it been adopted.

This bill ſtruck at the root of the peculation and rapine which had been ſo long practiſed by the Company's ſervants in India ; the cruelty and oppreſſion the inoffenſive inhabitants had ſo long groaned under ; which had been for a conſiderable time

time ſo unfeelingly exerciſed, to the diſgrace of our country, and even humanity: it tended to ſecure our territorial acquiſition and revenue, to promote the adminiſtration of juſtice for the benefit of the inhabitants, to ſecure and advance the property and intereſt of the Company, and ultimately the proſperity of this country.

In this bill there ſeemed to be nothing covert, inſidious, or myſterious; but every thing appeared explicit, fair, and open; a fixed time limited, and reſponſibility annexed to it.

Sir John Scott, a gentleman of ſome eminence in the law, out of compliment, and to ingratiate himſelf with his patron, Mr. Pitt, undertook to vilify and diſparage Mr. Fox's India Bill; when it appeared, upon explanation, that he was totally miſtaken with reſpect to the princi-

ples,

ples, intention, and meaning of that Bill; which expoſed his ignorance in the eyes of the whole Houſe of Commons to a high degree, to his great diſgrace and confuſion.

The principal difference which he could not comprehend, lies in a very narrow compaſs.

Mr. Fox's Bill was limited, intended as an experiment to ſee how it would operate with reſponſibility.

Mr. Pitt's Bill is permanent, and no reſponſibility; which is a very material *difference*.

The Grenvilles and Pitts, connected by family alliance, as well as political intereſt, extremely ambitious in their views, reflected, that a bill ſo ably framed, and likely to be productive of ſuch beneficial effects,

effects, would render Mr. Fox ſo popular, and form an adminiſtration ſo permanent, that they would not have the moſt diſtant proſpect of ſharing in the lucrative and honourable offices of ſtate.

After repeated conſultations, it was reſolved, that no time was to be loſt; that ſome bold ſtep was neceſſary to be immediately taken, to defeat this formidable Bill, and to remove Mr. Fox and his friends from adminiſtration.

The preſent Marquis of Buckingham, now in Ireland, then Lord Temple, as a Peer of the realm, had the privilege of requeſting, or demanding an audience of His M———y, which was managed with all poſſible ſecrecy. Being admitted to the royal preſence, he repreſented Mr. Fox's India Bill, as of the moſt dangerous tendency; forming a fourth eſtate in the conſtitution;

ſtitution; depriving his Majeſty of his prerogative; and making even a cypher of him; in a word, working upon his M——y's fears and weakneſs to ſuch a degree; that, without conſulting any diſintereſted perſon, or permitting Mr. Fox to vindicate himſelf by explaining the true purport and extent of his Bill, the ſovereign was pleaſed to diſmiſs him from the office of Secretary of State, together with the reſt of his friends with whom he was connected.

By the recommendation of Lord Temple then, Mr. William Pitt, his couſin, was appointed Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, being at that time between the age of *twenty-four* and *twenty-five*.

Mr. Pitt, upon finding ſo conſiderable a majority in the Houſe of Commons

againſt him, that he could carry on no public buſineſs to effect, in violation of an expreſs promiſe to the contrary, adviſed his Majeſty to diſſolve the Parliament, in order that he might procure a ſet of freſh members, who might be better adapted to his purpoſe. Mr. Pitt's partizans were indefatigable in every part of the kingdom, in prejudicing, by falſe repreſentations, the people againſt Mr. Fox's India Bill; and to ſuch a pitch did the popular frenzy then prevail; that ſome of the moſt irreproachable characters that ever ſat in the Houſe of Commons, loſt their elections for only approving of this Bill. Among a variety of others I could mention, I ſhall inſtance three gentlemen of the greateſt honour and integrity, univerſally reſpected, viz. Lord John Cavendiſh, General Conway, and Mr. Bing; not to forget Mr. Baker, a gentleman of great honour and integrity. When Mr. Pitt had by his artifices

tifices ſufficiently diſcredited Mr. Fox's India Bill, ſo as to cauſe it to be laid aſide by means of his new acquired majority, he introduced a Bill of his own, grafted upon ſome part of Mr. Fox's, which carrying a plauſible appearance, induced the Houſe to paſs it. In a ſhort time after, a Declaratory Bill was introduced, under pretence of explaining his firſt Bill, in which a variety of clauſes of great conſequence were inſerted, which never were hinted at in his firſt Bill. I could point out, in the courſe of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, ſeveral other inſidious acts, which ſavouredmuh of duplicity ; but one I ſhall ſingle out, wherein he betrayed the moſt inveterate malice and rancour, as well as injuſtice.

It was, in taking a decided part in the Weſtminſter election, in favour of Sir Cecil Wray, againſt Mr. Fox, with a view of

excluding him from the Houſe of Commons.

Notwithſtanding Mr. Fox had a conſiderable majority of legal votes, the returning officer received inſtructions, as ſuppoſed, from the Miniſter, or at leaſt with his approbation, not to return Mr. Fox; but to refer the deciſion to a ſcrutiny, merely to haraſs him with expence and trouble.

In the courſe of the inquiry, it appeared that more votes of his adverſary were diſqualified, than on the part of Mr. Fox.

The Miniſter's partizans, not able to countenance his partiality any longer, were aſhamed of his conduct, and determined in favour of Mr. Fox, who proſecuted the high-bailiff for the unjuſt, corrupt part he had

had acted, and recovered two thouſand pounds damage, which was probably paid out of the Treaſury. During the ſcrutiny, the Miniſter exulted under an aſſurance, as he ſuppoſed, of defeating Mr. Fox in his election, caſt a variety of ſarcaſtic ſneers, and inſulting reflections, alluding to the Scotch borough, for which Mr. Fox took his ſeat, till the buſineſs relative to Weſtminſter was decided. In a word, ſo illiberal, mean, and unbecoming a gentleman, was his behaviour, and ſo full of inveteracy, that his moſt attached, zealous friends could not avoid condemning his conduct. To ſuppoſe, that by any manœuvre orartifice, he could deviſe, a perſon of Mr. Fox's connections and abilities could be kept out of Parliament, was quite puerile, was folly in the extreme.

Had Mr. Fox been of that verſatile genius, as void of principle and venal, as that

Scotch

Scotch tool D——s, who is ready to proſtitute his talents in ſupport of any adminiſtration, any meaſure however ruinous and deſtructive, during about twenty years that he has had the honour of a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, he might by this time have realized a very capital fortune: any Adminiſtration would have gladly embraced ſo able, and ſo honourable a ſupport.

Having mentioned Mr. D——s, it brings to my recollection an anecdote of the old Marquis of Worceſter, who lived to an advanced age, having been Privy Seal in three different reigns, in which there had been a variety of changes; a familiar friend aſked him, by what means he contrived to continue undiſturbed in ſo high an office, ſo many years, during the adminiſtration of perſons of different characters and principles?—his reply was,

ORTUS SUM E SALICE, NON EX QUERCU.

Mr.

Mr. Fox is not of this pliant diſpoſition; or he might have been conſtantly in ſome honourable lucrative office, during the whole time he has been member of the Houſe of Commons. There is a circumſtance which marks the ambition, hauteur, and ſelf-ſufficiency of Mr. Pitt, the preſent Miniſter, in a very extraordinary degree.

When Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke had paid him ſome flattering compliments in Lord North's adminiſtration, on account of a ſpeech he delivered againſt the continuance of the American war: and when they hinted, that he might expect to fill ſome office or department in Adminiſtration, ſhould a change take place:

He publicly declared, that he would accept of no inferior appointment; that nothing leſs than the firſt and moſt important

tant office in the ſtate) which he now enjoys), would ſatisfy him.

This was a degree of arrogance and preſumption unparalleled in this, or any other country, conſidering *his age*, at the time that declaration was made.

It was the intention of Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, as having had more experience, to foſter and encourage Mr. Pitt's riſing genius by their commendation.

His ſarcaſtic ſneers and illiberal reflections, upon the two gentlemen juſt mentioned, have been particularly remarked during the whole of his adminiſtration.

It is an obſervation, that the nature of ingratitude is, to add venom to the malignity of a depraved mind.

TURPE QUIDEM ERAT CONTENDERE, SED CEDERE VISUM TURPIUS.

A conduct ſo aſſuming in ſo young a man as Mr. Pitt, was an inſult to the whole Houſe of Commons.

A perſon entertaining too high an opinion of himſelf, greatly detracts from his merit, whatever pretenſions he may have to ſuperior talents. Vaulting ambition, as Shakeſpeare obſerves, generally terminates in mortification and diſappointment; which may ſhortly be the caſe of this moſt arrogant gentleman. The preſent Miniſter, during the plenitude of his power, receives univerſal homage, I mean from his dependants and creatures! He, like the ſun, diffuſes a genial warmth around him at preſent; but when removed from the high office he ſo ſurreptitiouſly obtained, and reduced to his original obſcurity and nothingneſs, he will find himſelf

immediately deſerted, by thoſe who ſeem to have the cloſeſt attachment to him; even all the Peers he has been the inſtrument of creating, will forget him, if not deſpiſe him.

It puts me in mind of what happened to the late Duke of Newcaſtle. It was well known that moſt of the bench of Biſhops owed their CREATION to that dignity to his Grace; and during his adminiſtration, moſt aſſiduouſly and reſpectfully attended his levee; but no ſooner was he diſmiſſed from his office, than they all deſerted him; which cauſed a perſon of wit and humour to remark, that the Biſhops had all forgot their CREATOR.

When fortune in her ſhift and change of mood
Spurns down her late beloved, all his dependants
(Which labour'd after to the mountain's top
Even on their hands and knees) let him ſlip down,
Not one accompanying his declining foot.

SHAKESPEARE.

I can-

I cannot avoid enlarging a little farther upon Mr. Pitt's unbounded ambition, pride, and ſelf-ſufficiency; in aſpiring to the moſt important office in the ſtate at his time of life.——Knowledge does not come by inſtruction, but is acquired by experience.

Could it be ſuppoſed that a young gentleman, who had juſt quitted his college ſtudies, and juſt commenced barriſter at law, without the leaſt experience of public buſineſs, was a proper perſon to have the government of a great kingdom; particularly at a period, when our finances were ſo greatly deranged; at a time when it required the united wiſdom of the ableſt men in the nation, to repair the loſſes ſuſtained by the miſconduct of Lord North; who had been the cauſe of curtailing the empire ſo conſiderably; diminiſhing our revenue; and entailing upon us ſo enormous a debt?

It is univerſally obſerved, that the taxes which Mr. Pitt has cauſed to be levied to diſcharge the intereſt of this debt, are founded in deluſion and partiality ; tending to oppreſs particularly the lower rank of people, who are leaſt able to bear them.

But this very conſequential gentleman has not by any means been inattentive to the intereſt of his confidential friends and dependants, and particularly his relations.

His brother, Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, the duty of which office he is totally ignorant of. His couſin, late Lord Temple, created Marquis of Buckingham, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Marquis's brother, late Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, now Secretary of State for the home department, for which he appears to be very ill-qualified.

His late tutor was firſt appointed his private ſecretary, with a valuable church benefice; ſhortly after, Prebendary of Weſtminſter; then Biſhop of Lincoln, and Dean of St. Paul's. A pretty rapid advancement, from a fellowſhip of fifty or ſixty pounds a year in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge!——I could point out a variety of other perſons, upon whom he has beſtowed large incomes in a ſhort time, and very little deſerving of them; but this ſhort ſpecimen may ſuffice.

With reſpect to the Regency buſineſs, ſo much the ſubject of converſation, Mr. Pitt has taken infinite pains to gain popularity at the expence of Mr. Fox's character and reputation; I mean, as a ſenator and politician.

He has endeavoured to repreſent him as an enemy to the conſtitution, as attempting

ing to violate the rights of the two eſtates, the Lords and Commons; by ſetting up an ABSOLUTE claim in favour of the Prince of Wales, to govern independant of the concurrence of both Houſes of Parliament, during his Majeſty's unhappy malady. So little reaſon has the Miniſter for triumph and exultation in this matter, that it is entirely owing to a perverſion of Mr. Fox's meaning. Nothing could be more explicit and clear than the explanation he gave of what he advanced.

Mr. Fox maintained, that the Prince of Wales, as heir apparent, and of courſe entitled to ſucceed to the crown upon the demiſe of his father, was the moſt proper perſon to be appointed Regent.

It was not aſſerted, that the Prince had an abſolute right to aſſume the government in defiance of the two other eſtates; but that

that he was the perſon moſt entitled, the only perſon to look up to, to fill the third eſtate in the conſtitution, ſubject to the adjudication and concurrence of the two other eſtates. And has not this been the unanimous opinion of the whole nation?

With reſpect to the Reſtrictions introduced by the Miniſter and his friends in adminiſtration, they were not, it is well known, from any apprehenſion of an abuſe of power in the Prince when Regent, of which they are conſcious, there was not the leaſt danger, or probability whatever; but in fact, with a view to ſome ſiniſter intereſted deſigns of their own; and this they can hardly deny.

Mr. Fox, with his uſual openneſs, ingenuouſly declared, that he believed his Royal Highneſs the Prince, if he was appointed

pointed Regent, would diſmiſs the preſent adminiſtration.

Mr. Pitt immediately roſe, and with a ſarcaſtic ironical ſneer, thanked Mr. Fox for his condeſcenſion in giving him that information; adding, if that was the caſe, the Reſtrictions under conſideration would be the more neceſſary. The meaning of which appears to be, that the Prince's power muſt be narrowed and contracted the more; that thoſe who ſucceeded in adminiſtration might be as much clogged and embarraſſed as poſſible; and that he, and his aſſociates, by throwing as many lucrative offices into the hands of the Queen as they decently could, and appointing themſelves her council, might ſecure for themſelves a comfortable retreat, and be in a capacity of providing amply for themſelves and connections.

The

The proud, ambitious Mr. William Pitt, I hope will have reaſon ſoon to exclaim with his compeer in inſolence and arrogance, the late Cardinal Wolſey:

I've touch'd the higheſt point of all my greatneſs,
And from that full meridian of my glory
I haſte now to my ſetting.
This is the ſtate of man;—to-day he puts forth
The tender leaves of hope, to-morrow bloſſoms,
And bears his bluſhing honours thick upon him:
The third day comes a froſt, a killing froſt,
And when he thinks, good eaſy man, full ſurely
His greatneſs is a ripening, nips his root,
And then he falls, as I do.——

SHAKESPEARE.

There is a noble law Lord who has taken an active part in promoting the diſhonourable Reſtrictions laid upon the Prince of Wales. The perſon hinted at, was once eſteemed a man of ability; but what a falling off in argument! he may be ſaid

to have become a D——d. His ſpeeches upon this ſubject,

Have ſully'd all his gloſs of former honour.
SHAKESPEARE.

There is another of Mr. Pitt's junto I have in my eye,

Who in his bluntneſs
Harbours more deſign, than twenty cringing
Complimenting minions.——
SHAKESPEARE.

During the number of years that I have attended parliamentary debates, upon no ſubject whatever, have I obſerved ſo manifeſt a ſuperiority between two parties, in point of ability, as in the debate relative to the Reſtrictions propoſed to be laid upon the Prince of Wales, ſhould he accept

cept the Regency, during the preſent unfortunate ſtate of his Royal Father.

The minority were not only ſuperior in argument and ſolid reaſoning; but in knowledge of the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, to EVEN the law Lords; who are ſuppoſed to have made them their peculiar ſtudy. And particularly that learned ingenious prelate the biſhop of Landaff's ſpeech appeared ſo infinitely ſuperior to the law Lords, in clear reaſoning, ſound argument, as well as knowledge of the conſtitution, and graceful elocution, that they ſhrunk abaſhed, conſcious of their inferiority.

The Prince's conduct during the diſcuſſion of the preſent momentous buſineſs, in both houſes of Parliament, has been extremely prudent and exemplary. Never

manifeſting the leaſt deſire to ſucceed his Royal Father, by the leaſt interference whatever; but has waited in modeſt ſilence the reſult of their deliberations.

Nor has his Royal Highneſs in the moſt diſtant manner, diſcovered the leaſt impatience, or expreſſed the leaſt aſperity, or reſentment, againſt thoſe who were conſpiring againſt him, and diſparaging him with diſhonourable, degrading ſuſpicions as a cloak to cover their intereſted nefarious deſigns.

But there may be a time, probably, when this moſt injurious, mortifying treatment may not be forgotten.——And I make not the leaſt doubt, but it will be reſented by the kingdom in general, when they recover from the infatuation and deluſion they have been ſubjected to by the artifices and

plauſibility

plauſibility of the preſent ſelf-ſufficient arrogant Miniſter of the CROWN.

We have the ſtrongeſt reaſon imaginable, to be aſſured, that whenever it ſhall pleaſe the Supreme Being to reſtore his Majeſty to the perfect uſe of his intellectual faculties, by relieving him from his preſent unhappy malady, that the Prince, was he even inveſted with the fulleſt power, and all the appendages of royalty, would reſign the reins of power into the hands of his Royal Father, with infinitely more ſatisfaction and complacency, than he received them.

The filial piety, dutiful attention, and deep concern the Prince has expreſſed during the courſe of his Majeſty's calamitous ſituation, fully juſtify this confidence.

It is very ſingular, that in a buſineſs of ſo momentous a nature, the perſons in adminiſtration who act in concert with the Miniſter to inſult and degrade the Prince by the propoſed Reſtrictions in the face of the whole kingdom, I ſay it is aſtoniſhing, that they have not the prudence and policy to veil their deſigns, (to avert the popular odium which they may expect) which are ſo conſpicuous and apparent, that the moſt ordinary capacities, and leaſt informed, plainly ſee through them.

The conduct of the Prince of Wales in rejecting Mr. Pitt's propoſed aſſiſtance of an eſtabliſhment during his Regency, was great and noble. Senſible of the extraordinary burthen already impoſed by Mr. Pitt upon the lower order of people.

His Royal Highneſs, with the greateſt benignity, preferred to be abridged of the ſplendid appendages of royal dignity which he was entitled to, rather than the public ſhould be farther diſtreſſed.—Mercy is the nobleſt attribute of the Deity! mankind in nothing ſo much reſemble him, as in the exerciſe of humanity and compaſſion!

This inſtance of goodneſs, conſiderate concern, and tenderneſs for the people in his Royal Highneſs, may be eſteemed a ſure preſage of the future happineſs that may be expected by us, ſhould the Prince ſurvive and ſucceed his Royal Father in the throne.

The Prince's enemies, Mr. Pitt and his aſſociates, in the preſent buſineſs of the Reſtrictions, have with much induſtry, and the ſtricteſt ſeverity, canvaſſed his Royal Highneſs's

Highneſs's conduct, but have not been ble to diſcover the leaſt blemiſh:

His virtue has ſtood the teſt of inquiry,
Like pureſt gold, that tortur'd in the furnace
Comes out more bright, bringing forth all its weight.

SHAKESPEARE.

As Mr. Fox bore ſo conſiderable a part in the debates in Parliament, relating to the Regency buſineſs, and had the honour, as being the confidential friend of his Royal Highneſs the Prince, to communicate his intention of rejecting Mr. Pitt's offer of aſſiſtance for an eſtabliſhment during his Regency, I eſteem what has been introduced upon that ſubject, as extremely proper to be inſerted, being ſo intimately connected with his public character; which was what I purpoſed treating upon, and which I ſhall now cloſe.

Having

Having in the moſt conciſe manner I was able, conſidered Mr. Fox's character as an orator, ſenator, and politician—I ſhall add a few remarks relative to his character in private life, as a gentleman.

Mr. Fox received the firſt rudiments of his education at Eaton, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the rapid progreſs he made in claſſical learning, ſo greatly, that Dr. Barnard declared to his father, Lord Holland, that he had not one young gentleman under his care of equal parts and capacity; and adviſed his Lordſhip to place him under the tuition of Dr. Newcombe, in Hertford College, Oxford; a perſon of the firſt abilities, a polite ſcholar, as well as a man of deep learning. This gentleman is now Biſhop of Waterford in Ireland.

I cannot reſiſt a deſire of mentioning an anecdote relative to Mr. Fox, which places his character in the moſt amiable light. He had no ſooner been informed, that one of the four Archbiſhopricks in that kingdom was become vacant, than unſolicited he immediately wrote to his friend the Duke of Portland, then Lord Lieutenant, recommending the Biſhop of Waterford.

His Grace requeſted the favour of an interview with his Lordſhip, informed him that he had received a letter in his favour, from his worthy friend Mr. Fox, to whoſe recommendation he ſhould pay the greateſt regard; but that unfortunately, a circumſtance ſtood in the way, which prevented him from being able to oblige him agreeable to his wiſhes. This was a rule adopted by his predeceſſors in the adminiſtration of that kingdom, which had been inviolably

inviolably obſerved for a conſiderable time, viz. that there ſhould be always two Archbiſhops natives of England, and the two others natives of Ireland; but upon any other occaſion, that he ſhould be happy to ſerve his Lordſhip.

Dr. Newcombe is author of ſeveral elaborate ingenious works, which have done him much credit, and have been well received in the republic of letters; but he often declares, that nothing has done him more honour, than the ſhare he had in the education of Mr. Fox, who has made ſo brilliant a figure in public and private life.

Lord Holland deſigned Mr. Fox for the bar, entertained the moſt flattering hopes of his making a conſpicuous figure; inſomuch, that jocularly he was uſed fre-

quently to call him his little Lord Chancellor.

Mr. Fox's addreſs is eaſy, becoming, and graceful, free from foppiſh levity, or affected gravity.

When Mr. Fox was Secretary of State, the foreign Miniſters declared, that no perſon diſpatched buſineſs with more readineſs and facility than he did, never embarraſſed, ſpeaking the French language with propriety, fluency, and elegance.

I need not add, that he is a perfect maſter of the whole compaſs of his own language.

In his private converſation, his manner is polite, conciliating, affable, and condeſcenſive.

As a proof that Mr. Fox poſſeſſes the various qualifications I have pointed out, in an eminent degree above moſt other men:

The firſt characters in this kingdom in point of honours, fortune, integrity, and ability, eſteem themſelves honoured in being ranked in the number of his friends:

Even ſome of the firſt of the French nobility in rank and fortune, viz. the Duke de Orleans, the Duke de Lauzan, the Duke de Fitz-James, as well as many others who occaſionally viſit this country, admire him in his public, as well as private capacity.

He has nothing of that ſupercilious hauteur with which ſome perſons of quality treat their inferiors, but is all condeſcenſion and mildneſs, accommodating himſelf

himſelf to their capacities, as far as is becoming, in a manner the moſt engaging.

And that he enjoys the confidence and good opinion of his conſtituents, is moſt evident, not only from their chooſing him as their repreſentative, in oppoſition to the united intereſt of the Court, and utmoſt exertion of the Miniſter, but giving their ſuffrage to any gentleman he thinks proper to recommend; which was the caſe reſpecting Sir Cecil Wray, who proved ſo treacherous and ungrateful, and his preſent worthy, ſpirited friend and colleague, Lord John Townſend.

But what muſt be extremely flattering to Mr. Fox, and what reflects the greateſt luſtre upon his character is, his being honoured with the confidence of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales for ſeveral years paſt, which would never have taken

place,

place, had not the Prince diſcovered ſome eminent qualities, ſome ſuperior worth, merit, and ability in him, above any other man in the kingdom.

I cannot omit a particular anecdote, though a little foreign from the ſubject, which reflects no ſmall honour upon Mr. Fox as a gentleman, as a man of perſonal courage, as well as ſuperior talents.

When he had expoſed the intereſted, venal ſcurrility of the Scotch members, in their attachment to Lord North, and their zeal in promoting the American war.——A conſpiracy was formed againſt him, and one of their members, (a relation to thoſe very important conſequential gentlemen, Meſſrs. of the Adelphi, who duped the public ſo notoriouſly in the lottery buſineſs, relative to that building) was pitched upon to call Mr. Fox out, on account of ſome

ſevere

ſevere reflections upon their national character, which their conduct at that time very deſervedly juſtified.

The perſon deputed for that infamous buſineſs, conſcious of having injured Mr. Fox, did him the juſtice ſome time after, to declare in a public manner, that no man ever acquitted himſelf with more honour and courage, than Mr. Fox did upon that occaſion.

Mr. Fox's mental powers may be ſaid to be at this period of time in their meridian; his judgment matured by age and experience, being about the age of forty, ſo that every circumſtance conſidered, no man ſeems ſo proper to be appointed to take an active part in the adminiſtration of public affairs in this kingdom.

Mr. Burke's eloquence, is after the model of the Roman orator Cicero, flowery and diffuſive, abounding in metaphorical figures; adopting the pleaſant mode of perſuaſion to ſuch a degree, as ſometimes by introducing ſuch a redundancy of anecdotes, quotations, &c. he is apt to deviate too much from the point in queſtion, ſo as in ſome meaſure to loſe ſight of the main object.

Mr Burke is, upon ſome occaſions, carried away by the livelineſs of his fancy, and the extraordinary fertility his imagination, by being too florid, his ſpeeches become enervated, (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) more adapted to pleaſe and entertain, than to perſuade and convince.

Metaphors, ſimiles, anecdotes,&c. when ſparingly and appoſitely introduced, have certainly a very pleaſing effect, and tend

greatly to embelliſh an oration; but when they flaſh too frequent, are apt to diſguſt, particularly when ONE ONLY, too familiar, and beneath the dignity of the ſubject happens to be introduced, ſo far from ornamenting, that it has the effect of tarniſhing a whole ſpeech, however beautiful and eloquent in other reſpects.

Mr. Burke's genius and imagination may be compared to a fruit tree, that for want of proper pruning, is too luxuriant.

I am of opinion, that if Mr. Burke's lively vivacity was tempered with a proper portion of Engliſh gravity, it would form a good compoſition between the two extremes.

Mr. Burke's ſpeeches in general, notwithſtanding, muſt be allowed to be extremely ingenious and entertaining, inſtructive,

ſtructive, and perſuaſive, when he is pleaſed to be more conciſe, argumentative, pithy, and cloſe to the ſubject.

Could he be induced to ſhorten his ſpeeches, and to riſe to ſpeak leſs frequent, he would find himſelf better attended to, and treated with more reſpect by the Houſe in general.

Excluſive of the mortification of loſing the attention of his auditory, it muſt be confeſſed, there is a degree of impropriety and injuſtice in engroſſing too much of the time of the Houſe, when ſo many other gentlemen may probably wiſh to deliver their ſentiments upon a ſubject that may be intereſting.

Human nature is ſo framed, that there is no pleaſure, however exalted, which

will not fade and pall upon our ſenſes by too frequent a repetition; even the all-powerful charms of beauty, if too often expoſed to our view, will leſſen the admiration and reſpect it firſt excited:

> The preſent pleaſure,
> By revolution lowering, does become
> The oppoſite of itſelf.——
>
> SHAKESPEARE.

Mr. Burke muſt be allowed to be poſſeſſed of brilliant parts, much knowledge, extenſive reading, great ingenuity, as well as unbiaſſed integrity, and indefatigable induſtry and application, notwithſtanding that ſome of his ſpeeches of late have not been received with the former attention paid him, owing in ſome meaſure to the inveteracy of the preſent Miniſter againſt him, encouraging the junior members to interrupt him by very rude, unbecoming

coming behaviour; and to expreſs their contempt by retiring from the houſe upon his riſing to ſpeak.

As this may be attributed to party prejudice, and not to any falling off, or the leaſt deficiency whatever in Mr. Burke's capacity and abilities, I doubt not, ſhould the gentlemen he is attached to become the prevailing party in the Houſe, his ſpeeches will be received with the uſual applauſe and attention he ſo long experienced.

What he delivers will be in ſuch apt, and gracious words
That aged ears will YET play truant at his tales,
And younger hearings will be quite raviſh'd,
So ſweet and voluble is his diſcourſe,
Garniſh'd in ſuch bedecking ornaments, &c.

SHAKESPEARE.

Mr. Burke's voice is manly, clear, and mellow, his manner animated, and action not ungraceful.

I cannot

I cannot avoid making an obſervation here, that there are few gentlemen in the Houſe of Commons, who pay that attention to acquire a graceful action, which this part or appendage of eloquence deſerves; not even Mr. Fox himſelf. Whereas the celebrated Athenian orator Demoſthenes, whoſe manner in other reſpects he copies, eſteemed a becoming action of ſo much importance, that he even ſtudied it at a glaſs, till he became perfect.

Horace obſerves, that the generality of people are leſs affected with what they hear, than what they ſee;

SEGNIUS IRRITANT ANIMOS DIMISSA PER AURES;
QUAM QUÆ SUNT OCCULIS SUBJECTA FIDELIBUS, &c.

HOR.

And Shakeſpeare confirms this, where he ſays

That

That action is eloquence, and the eyes of the generality are more learned than their ears——

I do not mean to recommend an extravagant theatrical action, I mean a manly, decent one, ſuch as is correſpondent with the ſentiment, and has a tendency to enforce an argument, aud excite proper attention.

Mr. Burke, as a ſenator, is deſerving of much commendation; as few perſons have paid equal attention to the buſineſs of Parliament with himſelf. He has gained the public approbation upon a variety of occaſions, but particularly for his Reform Bill. A moſt elaborate performance, replete with wit, as well as ingenious remarks. It was the admiration of the kingdom in general; it is the cauſe of no ſmall ſaving, even in its preſent mutilated ſtate, and will in courſe of time, be productive of more;

more; and had it been carried to the extent propoſed, would have been very conſiderable.

Mr. Burke has particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the cauſe of humanity, endeavouring by every means in his power, to relieve the innocent natives of Indoſtan from the injuſtice and cruelty they have ſo long laboured under.

He has been at infinite pains to bring the principal authors of the oppreſſion ſo long unfeelingly exerciſed upon the natives of that country to public juſtice; and to retrieve in ſome meaſure our national character.

With reſpect to Sir T——s R——d, I remember being preſent in the Houſe of Commons when Mr. D——s, as chairman

man of a committee of inquiry into his conduct, charged him with ſome very atrocious facts brought in evidence againſt him, which ſeemed to agitate and affect Sir T——s to a very great degree. I had my eye conſtantly upon him, the whole of his deportment, his looks, his geſture, and manner, ſeemed, in the opinion of every perſon preſent, to indicate plainly a ſtrong conſciouſneſs of guilt.

No ſooner did Mr. D——s and Sir T——s come to a proper underſtanding together, during the receſs of Parliament, than the whole buſineſs dropped, and inſtantly vaniſhed *in fumo*.

The mode by which that buſineſs was conducted, Sir Francis Sykes is no ſtranger to, I believe.

If Sir T——s R———d was ſuffered to enjoy in peace and ſafety three hundred thouſand pounds, at the expence of twenty thouſand *properly applied*, it muſt be allowed to be no diſadvantageous bargain, no contemptible manœuvre.

With reſpect to Mr. Haſtings, Mr. Burke promiſed and pledged his honour, long before Mr. Haſtings's arrival from India, that he would, if poſſible, promote an inquiry into his conduct; which Mr. Pitt, with his uſual fineſſe and duplicity, endeavoured, as far as lay in his power, to prevent and quaſh, till he ſaw the ſenſe of the Houſe too ſtrong againſt him.

What the Miniſter's motive for this conduct was, is beſt known to himſelf.

To obſerve a Miniſter, intruſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs, uſe his power and influence to ſcreen public and notorious delinquents, certainly carries with it a very unfavourable, ſuſpicious appearance.

I recollect the arguments introduced by one of the Miniſter's proſtitute tools, Lord H---d, were ſo inconſiſtent with common ſenſe and reaſon, that they were ridiculed and univerſally ſcouted. This doughty adherent of the arrogant, pompous Miniſter, maintained that every governor and commander, either naval or military, ſhould be inveſted with an unlimited diſcretionary power, for which they ſhould by no means be accountable, or amenable to any tribunal whatever.

Had the delinquent been leſs OPULENT, I am of opinion that the Miniſter and his friends would not have ſhewn ſo much ſolicitude to ſcreen and protect him.

This is nothing new, but quite conformable to the ancient practice uſed in the degenerate times of the Roman ſtate.

It was common with the Romans to write to their friends, who were proconſuls in the Eaſtern provinces, by no means, if poſſible, to think of returning to Rome till they had acquired a ſufficient fortune to bribe the ſenate to acquit them, ſhould they be called to account for mal-adminiſtration.

There was a circumſtance which raiſed a conſiderable clamour againſt Mr. Burke, I mean by his adverſaries only, which

was his vindication of the unfortunate Mr. Powel.—I am ſo far from attributing the concern he expreſſed for that unhappy man to any private motive or ſiniſter view, that in candour we muſt conſider it as proceeding from a benevolent, humane intention; a philanthropy which Mr. Burke is univerſally allowed to poſſeſs, in a very eminent degree, even in the opinion of his enemies.

Mr. Burke has been for many years in habits of friendſhip, and in high eſteem with ſeveral of the worthieſt, and firſt characters in the nation.

He had the happineſs to be the confidential friend of two of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters for honour and integrity in this kingdom, viz. the late Marquis of Rockingham, and Sir George Saville;

ville; but particularly the former, who had the higheſt eſteem and ſincereſt regard for Mr. Burke, conſulting him in moſt matters of moment, either of a private or public nature.

Could any thing reflect greater credit upon any perſon, than ſo honourable and reſpectable a connection?

It muſt be acknowledged, that the firſt characters of the preſent day, for worth and abilities, eminence in learning and ſcience, are happy in Mr. Burke's acquaintance and friendſhip.

It is a diſtinction not a little flattering to a gentleman, to enjoy the eſteem (among many other of the firſt families) of the illuſtrious houſe of Cavendiſh, whoſe honour was never yet ſullied by any action

that

that could ever reflect the leaſt ſhadow of diſhonour.

To have continued ſo long in uninterrupted harmony and friendſhip with Mr. Fox, a perſon ſo univerſally admired for his abilities, worth, and integrity, I conſider as no inconſiderable addition to Mr. Burke's reputation and fame.

Another high honour and recommendation is, his being well received by that moſt amiable perſonage the Prince of Wales:

PRINCIPIBUS PLACUISSE VIRIS, HAUD ULTIMA LAUS EST.

The Author's aim and endeavour in this little treatiſe, has been to blend the UTILE with the DULCI, to inform and entertain. Whether he has done juſtice in any degree to the ſubject he has undertaken, is left

left to the candour of the public to determine; however, if he has failed of giving that satisfaction he could have wished, he will have the consolation, that

MAGNIS TAMEN EXCIDIT AUSIS.

FINIS.

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